

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 236781

HOLD FOR ARRIVAL OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE, SEPT 24

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BC, US

SUBJECT: CHECKLIST AND BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY SCHAUFLE'S VISIT TO BOTSWANA AND MEETING WITH  
PRESIDENT SIR SERETSE KHAMA

REF: SECTO 27208

1. PARTICIPANTS:

BOTSWANA - PRESIDENT KHAMA; MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
ARCHIBALD M. MOGWE. US - ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAM E.  
SCHAUFLE; VERNON E. JORDAN; BENJAMIN O. MARSH; FRANCESCO  
ALBERTI, US CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, GABORONE.

2. CHECKLIST:

-- CONGRATULATIONS ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR INDE-  
PENDENCE.

-- SOUTHERN AFRICA - REVIEW RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
AREA AND PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS.

-- BOTSWANA-ZAMBIA ROAD - AFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST  
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BOTSWANA IN DEVELOPING ITS ROAD SYSTEM.

3. BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: YOUR VISIT TO BOTSWANA, SEPT 28-

OCTOBER 1.

4. PURPOSE:

-- TO REPRESENT PRESIDENT FORD AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF BOTSWANA.  
-- TO BRIEF KHAMA ON THE STATUS OF OUR CURRENT CONSULTATION WITH AFRICAN LEADERS.  
-- TO DEMONSTRATE OUR BELIEF THAT BOTSWANA HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN FINDING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT FOR THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.  
-- TO UNDERLINE OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST BOTSWANA MEET ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

5. SETTING:

YOU ARE VISITING BOTSWANA AT A TIME WHEN ITS LEADERS ARE PREPARING TO CELEBRATE TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENT PEACE, WHILE WORRYING ABOUT BEING ENGULFED IN THE FLAMES OF A RACIAL WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS A FORMER BRITISH COLONY LOCATED BETWEEN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA SHARES SOME COMMON CIRCUMSTANCES WITH BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT IS DIFFERENT IN IMPORTANT ASPECTS.

FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS, THE TSWANA PEOPLE HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR IDENTITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE FACE OF MORE POWERFUL NEIGHBORS. A FACTOR IN THEIR SUCCESS HAS BEEN THEIR ABILITY TO BALANCE THE VARIOUS PRESSURES, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL, WITH WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN CONFRONTED. AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, WHAT IS NOW BOTSWANA BECAME A BRITISH PROTECTORATE TO AVOID BEING ABSORBED INTO SOUTH AFRICA.

DRAWING ON THE SIXTY-YEAR EXPERIENCE WITH BRITISH INSTITUTIONS, PRESIDENT KHAMA SUCCESSFULLY ADAPTED THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF BOTH THE TRADITIONAL AND MODERN SECTORS OF HIS NATION. AT THE SAME TIME THE PEOPLE OF BOTSWANA HAVE MAINTAINED SOME  
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TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY LOCAL COUNCILS. THEY HAVE, MOREOVER, MAINTAINED TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS WITH BLACKS IN BOTH RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. IN FACT THERE ARE MORE TSWANAS (BOTSWANA'S MAJOR TRIBE) IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN IN BOTSWANA.

UNDER KHAMA, BOTSWANA HAS SUCCESSFULLY INCORPORATED WHITES INTO ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM MAKING RACIAL EQUALITY A REALITY THERE. PRESIDENT KHAMA BELIEVES THAT NEIGHBORING STATES WITH A SIMILAR MAKE-UP CAN PROFIT FROM BOTSWANA'S EXAMPLE. HE INSISTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE WHITES

MUST ABOLISH THE APARTHEID SYSTEM TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN THE REGION. SIMILARLY, PRESIDENT KHAMA HAS SOUGHT TO BALANCE BOTSWANA'S ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA BY TAKING POLITICAL STANCES CLOSELY ALIGNED WITH THOSE OF THE OAU AND OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. THIS LEADS HIM TO DIFFER WITH US ON SOME INTERNATIONAL ISSUES HE CONSIDERS SECONDARY FOR BOTSWANA.

A. POLITICAL: PRESIDENT KHAMA HAS BEEN REELECTED TWICE SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN A FOUR-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM. HIS SUCCESS PARTIALLY STEMS FROM COMBINING HIS ROLE AS A TRIBAL CHIEF WITH THE PRESTIGE AND SKILLS GAINED FROM A MODERN EDUCATION. IN THE ABSENCE OF AN HEIR-APPARENT, A LIVELY POLITICAL CONTEST COULD FOLLOW WHEN KHAMA PASSES FROM THE SCENE. SOME OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE BEEN OUT-SPOKEN IN SUPPORT OF THE MPLA IN ANGOLA, AND COULD BE EXPECTED TO MOVE BOTSWANA TO THE LEFT OF KHAMA'S RELATIVELY MODERATE POSITIONS.

KHAMA HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF THE MINORITY, APARTHEID REGIMES IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. AT THE SAME TIME BOTSWANA HAS A POLICY OF NOT ALLOWING ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED AS A "LAUNCHING PAD" FOR ATTACKS BY NATIONALIST GROUPS ON RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. WITH NO ARMED FORCES, AND ONLY A 400-MAN MOBILE POLICE UNIT TO MAN ITS LONG BORDERS, BOTSWANA CANNOT PREVENT NATIONALIST GROUPS FROM OPERATING FROM BOTSWANA. WE BELIEVE PRESIDENT KHAMA IS TURNING A BLIND EYE TO ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST OPERATIONS IN BOTSWANA, WHILE PUBLICLY MAINTAINING HIS  
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"NO LAUNCHING PAD" POLICY, IN ORDER TO BALANCE CONFLICTING EXTERNAL PRESSURES ON BOTSWANA.

B. ECONOMIC: BOTSWANA'S ECONOMY IS BASED ON LIVESTOCK AND MINERAL PRODUCTION. WHILE THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IS INVOLVED IN CATTLE RAISING, REVENUES FROM DIAMOND AND COPPER/NICKEL PRODUCTION ARE BOTSWANA'S PRIMARY FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNERS. THE GOB EXPORTS ITS BEEF PRIMARILY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND THE U.K., WITH SOME EXPORTS GOING TO OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. BOTSWANA IS TRYING TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO EXPORT ITS BEEF TO WESTERN EUROPE, BUT FACES SEVERAL OBSTACLES. WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS HAVE INQUIRED ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR BEEF EXPORTS TO THE U.S.; WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE LOOKING INTO THE MATTER.

A MEMBER OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION, BOTSWANA ESTABLISHED ITS OWN CENTRAL BANK AND INTRODUCED A NEW CURRENCY (THE PULA) ON AUGUST 23, 1976. THE PULA IS PEGGED

TO THE CURRENCIES OF BOTSWANA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS, WHICH MAKES IT LESS DEPENDENT ON THE VALUE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAND WHICH BOTSWANA PREVIOUSLY USED.

BOTSWANA'S ECONOMY WOULD BE DEVASTATED BY THE DISRUPTION OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM AN ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. PRESIDENT KHAMA EXPECTS RHODESIA TO TERMINATE OPERATION OF THE RAILWAY IN BOTSWANA AND TO CONCENTRATE ON SECURING THE BEIT BRIDGE LINE INTO SOUTH AFRICA. PRESIDENT KHAMA HAS REQUESTED OUR ASSISTANCE FOR PAVING THE BOT-ZAM ROAD IN NORTHERN BOTSWANA. CONGRESS HAS APPROVED SOME FUNDS FOR THIS, BUT MORE WILL BE NEEDED. RECENTLY, PRESIDENT KHAMA SAID THE ASSISTANCE OFFERED BY THE U.S. IS INSUFFICIENT, ADDING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS NOT AWARE OF THE ENORMITY OF THE ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS BOTSWANA FACES.

6. U.S./BOTSWANAN RELATIONS:

OUR RELATIONS WITH BOTSWANA ARE WARM AND FRIENDLY. WE CONSIDER PRESIDENT KHAMA THE MOST MODERATE OF THE AFRICAN LEADERS WE ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
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ISSUES. OUR GOALS FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MEANS OF ATTAINING THEM ARE SIMILAR. WE DIFFER PRIMARILY OVER ISSUES AT THE U.N.

PRESIDENT KHAMA VISITED THE U.S. IN JUNE AND CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT. SINCE THEN, SEVERAL U.S. OFFICIALS HAVE VISITED HIM IN GABORONE. AT LEAST UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, HOWEVER, PRESIDENT KHAMA WAS CONCERNED THAT WE HAVE OVERLOOKED HIM IN RECENT VISITS TO AFRICA TO CONSULT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

7. STRATEGY:

OUR PRIMARY GOAL IS TO REASSURE KHAMA THAT WE BELIEVE HIS ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS IS IMPORTANT. THIS COULD ENCOURAGE HIM TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE IN MEETINGS OF AFRICAN LEADERS.

8. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS:

A. RHODESIA:

BACKGROUND: KHAMA HAS SUPPORTED A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION FOR RHODESIA, ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED IN THE SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH. HIS PRIMARY CONCERN HAS BEEN THAT

ESCALATING VIOLENCE IN RHODESIA WOULD MEAN DISASTER FOR

BOTSWANA.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- LET ME BRIEF YOU ON THE PROGRESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS RATHER THAN VIOLENCE.

-- I AM AWARE THAT REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE VARIOUS ZIMBABWE GROUPS HAVE VISITED BOTSWANA, AND WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ANALYSIS OF THE PROSPECTS FOR UNITY AMONG THEM.

B. VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA:

BACKGROUND: DURING A JUNE PRESS CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT KHAMA SAID APARTHEID WAS THE CAUSE OF THE RIOTS IN SOUTH

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AFRICA AS WELL AS THE VIOLENCE IN RHODESIA. HE SAID THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST RELEASE AND TALK WITH NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER ACCEPTED BLACK LEADERS TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- DEEP CONCERN IS GROWING IN THE U.S. OVER THE CONTINUING RACIAL CLASHES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

-- THESE EVENTS ARE CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THE FRUSTRATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARD THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID.

C. BOTSWANA-ZAMBIA ROAD:

BACKGROUND: PRESIDENT KHAMA HAS REQUESTED US FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PAVE THE NATA-KAZUNGULA LINK OF THE BOTSWANA-ZAMBIA ROAD, IN NORTHERN BOTSWANA. AN AID CONTRACTOR IS PRESENTLY CONSTRUCTING THIS 220-MILE GRAVEL ROAD WHICH CROSSES INTO ZAMBIA, AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF \$17 MILLION. THE ROAD IS VITAL FOR BOTSWANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNAL SECURITY. ALTHOUGH WE HAD REFUSED THE EARLIER REQUESTS OF THE GOB TO PAVE THE ROAD, WE ARE NOW SENDING AN ENGINEERING TEAM TO BOTSWANA TO SURVEY THIS PROJECT.

ALTHOUGH FUNDS FOR PAVING ARE INCLUDED IN THE FY 1977 SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION, THE FULL AMOUNT REQUIRED PROBABLY WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNDER THIS BILL. AS THE LEGISLATION NOW STANDS ONLY \$5 MILLION WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR PAVING; ANOTHER \$7 MILLION WOULD BE REQUIRED. IF WE ARE UNABLE TO REPROGRAM FY 1977 FUNDS FOR THIS, WE WILL HAVE TO SEEK A SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION FOR FY 1977, OR ADD THIS AMOUNT TO THE FY 1978 REQUEST.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

'- TO FULFILL THE US PLEDGE IN LUSAKA TO HELP DEVELOP A  
MODERN REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,  
WE INTEND TO ASSIST BOTSWANA IN DEVELOPING ITS ROAD  
SYSTEM.

-- IN RESPONSE TO BOTSWANA'S REQUEST FOR OUR FINANCIAL  
ASSISTANCE, WE ARE SENDING AN ENGINEERING TEAM TO SEE  
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WHAT IS REQUIRED TO PAVE THE NATA-KAZUNGULA ROAD.  
-- (IF RAISED) ALTHOUGH THE FY 1977 SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE  
LEGISLATION DOES NOT CONTAIN SUFFICIENT FUNDS TO PAVE THE  
BOT-ZAM ROAD, WE WILL SEEK TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY ADDI-  
TIONAL FUNDS. ROBINSON

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